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"An) Upon the very day when the advance sheets of the my book
"Appeal to Caesar" were issued to the press, there came under
my notice two very notable confirmations of the hypotheses on
which ~~it~~ ^{that book} is founded so far as regards the peculiar character-
istics of Northern and Southern sentiment in relation to the
racial question, its comparative importance and the most seas-
-ible remedy for the evils it promises. The first of these is
an editorial in the New York Times. While this article was
written for a partisan purpose and is, therefore, to be re-
garded in some respects with specific allowance for that fact,
there can be no doubt that in the matter contained in the ex-
tracts below, it represents the real views of the writer and
that those views are very generally entertained by all classes
of the Northern people. They are in such exact and literal
conformity with the opinions attributed to the people of the
North in the work referred to, as almost to seem to have been
written to illustrate the same. The following are the extracts
referred to:

It will be observed that the writer while admitting the racial barrier and the peril that may arise therefrom, evidently regards it as of a temporary nature, the result of war and maintained only by the agency of white Republicans of the South. It is, he declares, "the most serious political evil of the South;" it is "mischievous to their section and the whole country"; it is "kept up by Federal officeholders." Not only this but he evidently regards the racial instinct or prejudice as peculiar to the colored race alone and holds the Negro responsible for the solidarity of sentiment in this respect of the white race. "A solid negro vote", he says, "means a solid white vote." From this he concludes that the negroes ought to divide and would naturally do so but for the influences of the Federal officeholders.

This unconscious corroboration of the views I have recently formulated is all the more striking from the fact that the writer while fully recognizing the serious and portentous nature of the evil, alluding to it as an "almost impassable barrier" attributes its origin and continuance to the most insufficient causes. It illustrates with peculiar force the fact that the Northern man, judging Southern sentiment by his own, while fully appreciating the external phases of Southern life, seems utterly unable to comprehend the fact that the grand divisions of human thought and sentiment are not to any appreciable extent the result of temporary or superficial causes. The barrier which he accounts political merely, is

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in fact, inherent and racial. The absurdity of making the weaker, more ignorant and inferior race, responsible for the solidarity of the more intelligent, experienced and presently superior race, upon this question, would have been apparent to this writer as well as to the whole body of the people of the North, if its real character as a result of natural and deep-seated causes, rather than of temporary and superficial political fomentations, were apprehended by them. A dispassionate glance at our history would show that it has never been the negro who has asserted the fact of color or of race as the line of demarcation in social or political life. That has always been the act of the whites. It was not the negro who reversed the rule of the common law and made the fact of a visible admixture of colored blood presumptive evidence that a man was a slave. Neither the colored man nor any one for him has ever asserted any peculiar right or privilege based upon the fact of race. On the other hand, the white man has never ceased to claim especial privilege, immunity and right for himself, solely on the ground of race and color. The only manifestation of racial feeling on the part of the Negro has been the assertion of civil and political equality with the white man. On the part of the whites the fact of race is made the basis of a claim of superiority. The government has recognized the position of the colored man in this matter as the correct and true one. To ask or expect or even to ^{deem} ~~decide~~ it

possible that the colored race should divide, or ought to divide on any other political issue or public question in the face of this constantly reiterated claim of racial inequality seems as absurd on the part of men who ^{liberated} ~~freed~~ the slave and enfranchised the freedman as it would be to expect a man to discuss free-trade or a protection tariff while lying in line of battle with the enemy's shells flying over his head. A part of the colored voters of the South may be in favor of protection and another portion most devout adherents of the dogms of free-trade, but they cannot afford to act upon such beliefs or give expression to such sentiments of difference because the all-important question for them, at this time and for all time, until it is fully decided, is whether they are to be allowed equal civil and political right and prerogative with the white race. This is the gravest question that can ^{Con-}front any man or any people in any age, for it is the question of liberty—of personal privilege and inalienable right. The colored man must of necessity continue to reiterate his claim to equality just as long as the white man persists in urging his claim to superiority. If he does not do this he shows himself unfit for the role of a free man and no one would be readier to condemn him for such a course, than those who now advise him to it.

On the same day and in the same journal, appeared an address from the Democratic State Executive Committee of Virginia to the voters of that State. In it is set forth the idea which the Southern white man, as a rule, entertains upon

the question of equality of political right between the two races. It is temperately and fairly stated, but the very matter-of-course manner of its presentation only emphasizes its force and completes the contrast between it and the Northern view of the subject which has already been given.

Speaking of the position of its opponents, the Committee says:

"The whole thing, in substance and effect, means that a minority of the white people propose to combine with the united negro vote, to control the voice of Virginia and make it a Republican State."

In view of this danger the Committee very significantly add:

"No question of tariffs or of Federal policy, must be permitted, at this time, to divide our party. More important and vital consequences to the people of Virginia and the country are involved."

This is a fair statement of an indisputable fact. By comparing the various elements of this statement we shall see that the fact that "a minority of the white people propose to combine with the negroes" in political action and accomplish a specific result, is looked upon by the committee as so great an enormity as to need or perhaps to admit of no aggravation in the minds of the masses of the white people of Virginia. There is here no expressed desire that the colored people should divide, but a vehement condemnation of that white minority which presumes to act with them. If these extracts had been intended to illustrate the positions taken in the "Appeal to Caesar"

in regard to the views of Northern and Southern people upon this question they could not have been more aptly phrased. Each is thoroughly typical of its class. Especially is it noticeable that the committee cannot refrain from declaring that "no question of the tariff or of Federal policy" must be allowed to interfere with "more important and vital consequences" involved in this combination of whites and blacks, working for a common political purpose. This view of the situation at the South and in the country is entirely correct. Though differing with the committee toto coelo in regard to the remedy, I am free to admit that their view of the magnitude and importance of the racial problem is one that cannot be gainsaid. What shall be the relations between the two races in that important part of our national domain where they now confront each other in about equal numbers, and whether a minority of the whites of those states shall be permitted "by combining with the negroes" to exercise the power of a majority, are questions of far more importance not only to those states but to the whole country than any "question of tariff" or of Federal administrative policy.

These two views coming from such widely differing sources and inspired by such difference of culture and development, show unmistakably that the importance of the question is instinctively comprehended by both extremes of thought. To attempt to hide, disguise, or mask this fact from public notice

is merely to invite a neglect which must inevitably result in
enhancing the peril that is now apparent to all.

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A. W. Tourge